1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

512 almost deserted, except for women going on visits or on business and young children noisily engaged in their games. By sunset the roads leading to the village become busy and crowded with villagers and cattle returning home, who in their hurried endeavour to get their evening meal raise the dense cloud of dust that characterizes the agricultural roads and the village streets during this hour. Some time later, the village witnesses the general exodus of women and girls from the village towards the Nile to fill their water jars, while the men sprawl outside the houses or cluster round a wood-fire in the guest house on cold nights to exchange news, smoke their tobacco and engage in gossip.

369 121 101 In portraying some of the features of the rustic setting and life in Silwa, a question emerges: to what extent is this village under study typical of the rural conditions in Egypt? To such a question an objective answer is almost impossible, considering the fact that there are five thousand large villages and twenty thousand hamlets (izbahs) in Egypt. The writer can only claim with confidence that Silwa is typical of the majority of villages in the province of Aswan. There are certainly differences from one province to another, with regard to the degree of urbanization, the infiltration of agencies of social change such as schools, means of communication, newspapers and radio. On the whole, Aswan, being the farthest province from the metropolis, could be considered relatively the least affected by such factors. It is also known as one of the poorest provinces, as the Nile Valley reaches its narrowest stretch in the south (with the exception of the district of Kom Ombo). Moreover, Silwa, as will be seen later, is composed mainly of small landowners. There are many other villages throughout Egypt where the inhabitants are mainly tenants or part-owners and part-tenants, while many others work as hired labour.[1] With the exception of Kom Ombo, the majority of the land in Aswan produces subsistence crops, while in other provinces cash crops such as cotton and sugar-cane may be the main agricultural crop.

562 189 At this juncture it is important to point out one of the striking differences between most of the provinces of Upper Egypt down to Beni Suef and the other provinces, especially in the Delta. This is while women in the former provinces go about veiled and do not actually work on the fields, those in the latter are neither veiled nor debarred from active work on the farm. The writer cannot satisfactorily account for such a difference and knows of no source that has tackled this question. Is it merely a result of some historical or racial difference between the two parts of the country? Has it some connection with cotton culture and the perennial irrigation which are mainly predominant in the North?[2] Is it an expression of some

[1] See A. Ammar, op. cit.

[2] The cultivation of cotton requires not only a dense population, but one with a birth rate above the average. Charles Issawi, *Egypt—An Economic and Social Analysis*, London, 1947. In the light of this, female labour was perhaps essential for the economic activities in those provinces.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

major cultural variation between these regions? Or is it a combination of these factors? At present the writer finds himself unable to settle such an issue.

In conclusion, it is extremely difficult to show the extent to which Silwa is a typical Egyptian village. All that can be claimed is that Silwa at least represents one of the village types prevailing in Upper Egypt. It also reflects in its community life some of the national problems of population pressure, of agricultural economy, malnutrition, and slow rate of accepting government-sponsored programmes as evidenced by instances of resistance and evasion which will be discussed later.

If, however, no single concrete statement about Silwa applies to other villages in Upper Egypt, the writer can tentatively assume that through the diversity of details there runs a common outlook and ethos of life and that very few differences obtain with regard to the cultural values and the aims and methods of socialization.[1]

Silwa, however, was not primarily chosen for a field-work investigation for its 'typicalness' or otherwise, and the writer must admit that 'the prime mover' for this selection was his personal connection with the village. In it he was born and brought up till the age of seven, when he left to receive his primary-school education in Aswan, his secondary education in Sohaj, province of Jirja, and his university course in Cairo. Throughout his life he has never severed his contacts with his birthplace as he used to stay there during summer holidays and the short-term vacations. The writer lived in close emotional, spiritual and intellectual touch with the villagers, a position which has its merits and demerits for such a study.

The choice of such a village was also appropriate as it presents a convenient starting point for a first study of this kind, as the village is relatively isolated and homogeneous where the trad tional culture is presumably better preserved than others in more contact with city life. With fewer social sub-divisions, with no complexity of social classes, of differential functions and of division of labour, and with the dominance of universals and a minimum of alternatives and specialities in social behaviour, such a community is more amenable to study for a single investigator.[2]

With no problem of learning the language or even the dialect, the six months of field work were fairly adequate to carry out such an investigation.

[1] For the substantiation or modification of such a statement, research in other Provinces has to be considered. The gap in such studies has been felt by many scholars. 'The Near and Middle East can show practically no contributions to these studies.' Margaret Read, *Education and Cultural Tradition*, London, 1951, p. 20. 'No Moslem writer, in either medieval or modern times, has condescended to describe the organization of village life in his country.' H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Part 1, London, 1950, p. 5.

[2] The terms 'universals, alternatives and specialities' have been introduced by R. Linton and are used here in the same way. See his book *The Study of Man*, New York, 1946, pp. 272–4. R. Firth refers to the value of concentrated observation of small-unit behaviour, a type of study for which he suggests the term micro-sociology, in *Elements of Social Organization*, London, 1951.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

and social exchange. Each of the two sections is supposed to be characterized by certain attributes; the Musiab being renowned for their boasting and self-pride, and heavy-built members, while the 'Onab are reputed to be comparatively stingy and much inclined to gossip.

There are no formal heads of clans but there are natural leaders who are spontaneously appointed on occasions from the oldest members. The distinctive hallmark of every clan is its guest house, where the adult members of the clan have their communal meals during the fasting month of Ramadan, receive a common guest, settle disputes, meet for ordinary gossip and can celebrate their feasts, ceremonies and funerals. On one hand, the clans are aware of their integral identity; and on the other hand, they are aware that they are linked together by a common ancestor forming the unity of the village.

Silwa Kibli (Southern Silwa) and its neighbouring villages are inhabited by the descendants of 'Ayyash the third brother of 'On and Musa. This genealogical relationship is the explanation given to the similarities in customs and traditions between the two parts of Silwa Kibli and Silwa Bahari.

The genealogical pattern goes on to repeat itself still further to include and explain the relations and similarities in the larger socio-geographic region extending throughout the whole province. Apart from the towns 'where people are mixed', most of the villages of this region are inhabited by either the G'afra or 'Ababda. While the G'afra are the descendants of G'afar al-Sadik whose great-grandfather was the grandson of the Prophet, the 'Ababda are the descendants of 'Abdullah ibn al-Zubair who belonged to the Kuraish clan, the Prophet's clan, but was not so close in kinship or favour to the Prophet. The G'afra consider themselves more hospitable than the 'Ababda; and they are also distinguishable as farmers, while the 'Ababda, even if they are farmers at present, were originally camel-drivers.

Moreover the G'afra region is divided into two parts: those villages lying along the eastern bank of the Nile are descendants of Bahr (amongst whose sons were 'On, Musa and 'Ayyash), while those stretching along the western bank of the Nile are the descendants of Buhair, the brother of Bahr. The diagram overleaf represents the ramification of kinship in the region of G'afra and Silwa.

It is clear from this that not only the village, but the whole region represents a ramified genealogical tree, having one main trunk. It is also significant that this ramification is related to the branching off of brothers who were not in agreement, e.g. in the division of East and West in the whole region, in the division of the two parts of Silwa (South and North) and in the division of Silwa itself into two sections. This could be taken as a recognition of a deep-seated cultural expectation of brothers' discord, in spite of the highly idealized expectation of fraternal solidarity.

The genealogical pattern, based on the unilateral descent, repeats itself

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

867 In this way the child experiences the processes of kinship, entering gradually widening circles of people with concomitant responsibilities and meanings. About the age of seven, for instance, kinship sentiment means running errands for close relatives, borrowing things, helping in carrying presents and gifts for them, and so forth. A child runs errands for his [603] paternal and maternal uncles and grandfathers whether they live with the [604] father or not, whether they are on good terms or not. Beyond these categories of kinship, the child is not compelled to run errands for other relatives who are not in harmony with his parents, on pain of punishment. Through the disciplinary powers of the uncle and the parent's family in general, the child finds himself more drawn towards his mother's people whom he usually goes to visit with his mother, because, as mentioned earlier, he finds them less censorious than paternal relatives. These visits to the maternal relatives are more frequent in the case of adolescent boys who can enjoy a relaxing and more genial relationship in their leisure time at night. As they grow older, kinship for boys and girls means help and assistance on ceremonial events of the extended family and the clan.

[601] It is significant to notice that children use only eight terms of address: father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. The last four categories of uncle and aunt are only used when those addressed are married; otherwise they are addressed merely by their [184] first names. In Silwa, unlike many other rural areas in the province of Kena, boys and girls tend, on the whole, to drop these four categories of kinship address after their marriage and usually call their uncles and aunts by their first names. It seems that after marriage boys and girls attain a [885] certain amount of social independence, and thus they do not address [601] uncles and aunts by kinship titles in the same way as they do not address the latter if they are not married, or if the age difference is slight. The recognition of blood relation, however, is usually used as a test for young children by their elders: one might hear an elder questioning a younger, 'Who is your uncle? Who is your cousin? Where do they live? Whom do you prefer?' and so on. The adolescents have a few puzzles depending on [524] kinship terms, and division of inheritance, the solution of which lies in the understanding of a linguistic twist, or a pun.[1]

The child's recognition of the importance of his family and his identification with it is acquired at a very early stage of his development. The child [195] usually talks in the first person plural, by saying 'our donkey, our camel'. In fact, it is preferable to use the plural pronoun rather than the singular, as it is considered to be modest and less presumptuous. This identification with the family is also evidenced by the fact that in children's swearing, and in that of the adults for that matter, the curse is directed towards the father, the mother, the family, or to one's origin (seed). It is very seldom indeed that a curse refers directly to the child or the person addressed. When children are praised by visitors, such praise is couched in terms such

[1] See Appendix VII for boys' riddles.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

should be noted that in this case the pot was not taken out of the hollow in the ground until it was ready for sun-baking.

Similar jars are made by another family of potters in this Arab village, where the women assist their menfolk by preparing the clay for use. The method employed in the manufacture of these jars is the same as that just described.

Much farther south I saw a somewhat different method. The pots, which are of various shapes and sizes, are not only all entirely

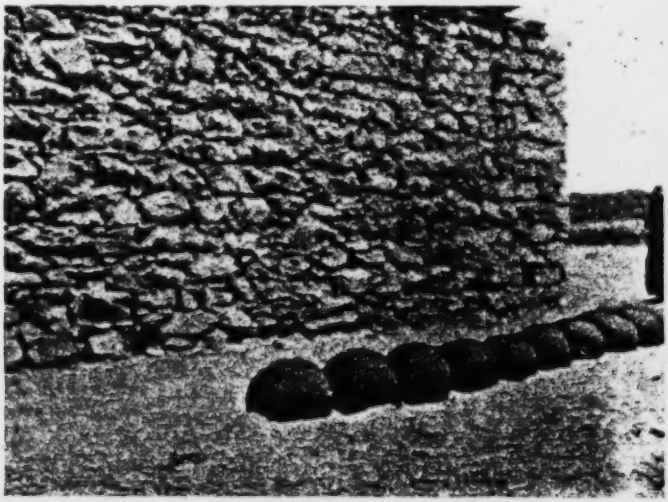

FIG. 71. WATER-JARS SUN-BAKING

wheel-turned, but the material of which they are made differs from that used farther north; also, the vessels are covered with a slip and painted with simple designs.

The pots are made of *ḥamr* (a reddish clay), which is brought in large lumps from the adjacent desert. These are broken up, soaked in water, and then kneaded into a clay of the right consistency. No chopped straw is mixed with it. After the pots have been turned on the wheel (Fig. 72) they are placed on hard clay disks to sun-bake for half a day, and during this period they are tilted slightly from time to time, so that the air may circulate underneath. This is done so as to ensure an even evaporation of the superfluous moisture from all parts of

F 361 they build themselves a suburb on the outskirts of a town, as at Minia for example, it bears exactly the same appearance.

Some distinction may be made between villages according to their relative importance. There are the district capitals (*markaz*), the market towns and the centres of pilgrimage; these are big villages or townlets with more business, more movement and more institutions than the others (bank, court, police station, railway station); but no fellah centre has many of the amenities of a town. At the other end of the scale come detached but still dependent hamlets, such as the *'ezbas* of the big landowners and the Bedouin settlements (*nag'*) on the edges of the cultivation.

F 511 The standard of living is practically invariable everywhere, and to study an average village is to know all the rest.

184 Let us choose a village at random and look, before we enter it, for any signs of communal life which can be seen from its outskirts.

F 361 346 In Europe it is often said that the church building gives its character to the village. In Egypt too the mosque (or the Coptic church) is the largest and most solid building, but there is nothing remarkable about it in point of architecture. Even if it has a minaret or a bell-tower, it gives no special character to the village, for it rarely rises above the poverty and mediocrity of its surroundings.

C F 779 95% of the fellaheen are Moslems. There are about a million Copts, 40,000 of whom are Catholics. They live together with the Moslems in the same villages, each group following its own faith.

F 779 771 The Moslem fellaheen, among whom neither women nor children are counted, observe as faithfully as possible the five fundamental precepts of the Koran: belief in one God, prayer, fasting, almsgiving and the pilgrimage. This much at least they know.

F 782 796 516 Of their belief in God something will be said later on. Prayers they say after ablutions in the evening, and several times on Friday. When they hear the call of the *muezzin*, they leave the women and children in the fields, and go off to the mosque, or more often to a cleared space used as such, a square of beaten earth at the water's edge surrounded by a low wall. There they pray together, or at least go through the prescribed gestures. Squatting on the ground or on

183 The women are more intelligent than the men. Sir
184 William Willcocks, whose great achievements in irrigation by no means prevented him from studying the fellaheen, explains the difference thus: — "A bad government, if passively accepted by men, who are naturally active, will sooner or later demoralise them. The same government, if passively submitted to by women, who are naturally passive, tends on the contrary to develop their intelligence. That is why the fellah women are not only more intelligent, but more trustworthy than the men (*)".

This opinion is open to discussion. The fact it seeks to explain — the traditional feminism of Egypt — is quite clear.

181 The fellah's wife is also more cunning than her husband,
183 which is saying a good deal. Like all weak people the fellah
562 practises cunning to the point of duplicity. He knows how to conceal his joy, his suffering or his crime. His inexpressive features are a great help. In his shifts and dodges — when he leaves it to time to decide, when he agrees without any intention of keeping his word, when he uses evasive language or purposely misunderstands — he shows an adaptability which is indeed a kind of intelligence, but intelligence at the level of instinct.

181 The fellah seems lacking in logic. In reality his ideas run parallel, and he judges by his own standards. Ask a
[823] fellah how far it is to a certain village, and he will reply "A piastre bus-ride".

181 The *'omda* understands this mentality perfectly. "Go
565 to your father, my lad, and tell him that the Bey (his creditor) is waiting here for him. If your father isn't there, tell him to come all the same, for the Bey knows that he is there." And the father, his bluff called in advance, comes along without any trouble at all.

181 The truth is that the fellah does not think outside the immediate present; he is fettered to the actual moment. No time and place except the present have much effect on his mind, because they have none on his senses. He is like a primitive man or a child; his intellect is controlled by his senses, and remains close to things felt and done. The fellah looks for causes and effects in the field not of reason, sight. Life to him is a succession but of todays. That is why he seems illogical.

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Egypt MR 1

CHAPTER X

THE FELLAH AND PROGRESS

In the great square in front of Cairo station stands a massive group of statuary hewn from Aswan granite. It represents the Sphinx rising on its forefeet, with a woman standing beside it, her hand on the nape of its neck, and her veil raised. This is *The Reawakening of Egypt*, by an Egyptian sculptor, Mukhtar.

During the last half century Egypt has made more progress than any other Near Eastern or Islamic country. Politically she has become independent first of Turkey and then of England, and established herself as a sovereign State. This evolution has been made possible by the birth and growth in a whole class of the idea of nationality and a consciousness of the destiny of the Egyptian nation. Since 1923 the Kingdom of Egypt has had Ambassadors and Consuls abroad, a purely Egyptian Government, a parliamentary life and an opposition, universal suffrage and political parties with electoral programmes, ministries and a more and more specialised civil service — in short the whole paraphernalia of a modern state.

Nevertheless this political life affects only a tenth of the total population. The fellaheen, who constitute the remaining nine-tenths of passive and unorganised citizens, take no more part in it now than formerly, when Turks or English ruled the country.

They are either ignorant of the existence of all these new ideas we have just mentioned, or they have no understanding of them. They are Wafdists if you like — that is to say, members of the Nationalist Party — in the sense that the *'Omda* or the political agents have written their names in the party lists, but they are neither active members nor even supporters in the way Russian peasants would be, for example. No-one has taught them their rights and privileges. Demo-

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Egypt MR1

F 184 665 cratic forms can never have been so misleading. But that is not the worst evil, as we shall see.

E 652 439 651 The economic progress of Egypt is as striking as its political development. The country's financial prosperity is remarkable. Even before the war the State had a gold reserve of thirty million pounds, and between 1925 and 1935 it almost doubled. The budget never shows a deficit. The constant increase of revenues from the Customs and the railways, the capital of the limited companies, both foreign and Egyptian, the development of local industry (the Bank Misr companies employ 200,000 men), the place of Egyptian cotton on the world's market, the improved quality of the crops, the systematic extension of perennial irrigation and therefore of agricultural production — all these are signs of prosperity.

E 178 But this progress has resulted in no increased well-being for the fellah. His standard of life and his methods of work have remained unchanged, for all this progress was based on his labour. His ignorance and stagnation were the conditions for this capitalist prosperity.

F 248 249 'The so-called rich crops', wrote an economist some time ago, 'that is to say cotton and sugar-cane, will not fail to influence the evolution of the fellaheen, since the one develops capital, which will effect an improvement in agriculture, and the other industry, which will sharpen the fellah's wits by the use of machinery.'

F 511 In fact, neither capital nor industry has helped the fellaheen. Both before and after the boom of 1920 their financial affairs were as bad and their poverty as great as a hundred or a thousand years ago. There are even signs, and that in official reports ([70]), of a lowering of the standard of living. It is the fashion to attribute this to the increase in the population, though 'Aly Shamsy Pasha also cites 'the unequal distribution of agricultural wealth' ([71]). In the midst of this poverty in prosperity there are still landowners whose incomes are L.E. 12,000 to L.E. 15,000 a year.

F 183 Yet here again the evil must not be exaggerated. There may be something worse than poverty — ignorance.

E 873 The intellectual revival of Egypt has been dazzling. Under the reign of Fuad I especially, learned institutions were multiplied. The Fuad I University, which did not exist twenty-five years ago, has today nearly 10,000 students,

212 ideas, for the literary language in which books and newspapers are written is unfamiliar to them (73).

●184 The weakness and the sufferings of the fellaheen arise from their abysmal ignorance in a fast-progressing world. The revival which has just been described only accentuates their isolation and dependence.

178 At the same time, if within the mass no substantial changes can be recorded, outside it some progress may be seen, and inside there are some signs of future evolution.

There is a certain growth in the sense of social responsibility. Progressive Egypt is beginning to pay some attention to unprogressive Egypt, clumsily it may be, by fits and starts, and as yet more in theory than in practice, but at least with the desire to help those who cannot help themselves.

641 Today the fellah has legal rights. He is no longer sub-
466 ject to forced labour at the good pleasure of his masters.
671 There is a code of law, and judges to apply it. It is true that the fellah does not always know how to make use of this, but the law exists, where formerly there was no defence.

641 'To put an end to the cruelty of the pasha, to let the
636 fellah's wife and frightened child have what belongs to them', such was the work of Lord Cromer at the end of the nineteenth century (75). This High Commissioner, who gave much thought to the fellaheen, used all his power to obtain for them at least strict justice. The lash was made illegal, and
[651 taxes were fixed at reasonable rates and periods. The fellah
681 is no longer in constant terror of the *sarraf*. He knows
731 how much he has to pay, and realises that if his field has
661] suffered from flood, drought or fire, the tax is remitted. The venality of officials and the selfishness of big landowners often nullify the benefits of these measures. But they have their effect.

In 1912 Lord Cromer's successor, Lord Kitchener, also caused a law to be passed in favour of the fellah, whereby the dwelling of the small farmer, his necessary implements, two of his cattle and five feddans were exempt from seizure. To make the fellah's finances sounder and accustom him to some kind of system the same High Commissioner established Savings Banks in the villages, where the fellah was to
[453] keep his savings. This institution, perhaps because it was

The first and most urgent need, let it be said again, is education. /183

"It is my opinion that every reform which is not founded on the education of the people is destined to fail, or at least to take a very long time—and the people's time is precious. /185 /203

"Nothing will ever come of building model villages, or of using the cinema and the wireless to give advice on health and social matters, unless the people are educated and enabled to make use of all these things." (Article in Al-Mussawar No. 800 by 'Abdel-Qader Hamza Pasha, Senator, 1940.)

Many influential people, however, sincerely believe that to educate the fellah would be to make him unhappy, and that his present state of insensibility and habituation is best for him. He does not suffer so much as one might think, for he does not know what he lacks. To teach him would mean to waken in him demands for comfort and amusement which he could not satisfy, and which would give him a distaste for work on the land. Then what would become of Egypt ? In 1933 a Member of Parliament maintained that the education of the masses was undesirable, and suicidal for Egypt. Many large landowners think the same. /183 /185 /871

This may well be so, if by education is meant the wholly unsuitable programme to be found in the official syllabus of compulsory education. There is no sense in teaching the fellah practices which are useless in the country-side, and are based on purely Western ideas. "This teaching does not give results in proportion to its cost. The Commission therefore advises a radical reorganisation based on a recognition of the need to prepare the young for country life, so as to raise the standard of agricultural production" (''). As for the fellah's distaste for the farm's driving him to the city, this movement comes more from continual poverty than from such teaching. The fellah migrates to the town only because he hopes to earn enough there to enable him to return to the land. /166

It must be said that no depopulation of the countryside has yet been noted. The 1937 census shows a stationary figure for the rural population, in spite of the increased birth rate and the relative decrease of mortality. On the other hand, in the less illiterate villages, and among fellaheen who have returned after a long stay in the city — poorer /162 /166 /184

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184 or richer, but at least with their eyes opened — a certain distaste is noticeable for the hard toil of the fields.

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162 In 1937 there were in Cairo 188,000 persons of Upper Egyptian origin, and 200,000 from the provinces of Lower Egypt, an increase of over 150,000 in ten years. The
166 *mudiriya* of Assiut had lost 50,000 to the capital, and Menufiya, the most thickly populated province, more than 70,000. These figures are an indication not so much of the spread of education, as of poverty and overcrowding.

E
186 A glance at the fellah colonies established in Cairo shows that they form veritable villages, grouped according
166 to their place of origin in odd quarters of the capital such as Sharabiya or Kolâly. They keep to themselves, meet at special cafés, and cling to their country customs as long as possible. Generally it is the men that have migrated, leaving their wives and children in the villages; which proves
E that they hope to return. They find work most often as
464 building labourers, taken on for the day by a *rayess* ; they
465 are better paid than in the fields (about P.T. 5 a day, pre-war rate), but just as badly treated, and always in danger of unemployment.

E
166 After a few years' experience some come back to their native places poorer than ever, or perhaps well enough off
464 to buy the plot of land they dreamed of. Others settle in the
511 city and work as navvies, porters, servants, or hawkers,
557 fastening like flies on to the wealth of the city, just as the hovels they live in cling to the edges of the better quarters. They form a parasitic growth which never becomes part of the city. Some few manage to worm their way in, and develop into big merchants, contractors, or brokers; but they are not in the least interested in improving the quarter from which they came. They trample on their old associates instead of helping them to rise.

The distress of the fellah remains.

511
735 is of graver consequence for the individual than for the group. In this poverty the fellah is too rich.

181 His ignorance and backwardness, his churlishness and servility, which contrast so strikingly with the refinement of the upper classes, are more tragic than his lack of means.

The fact that he does not feel the depth of his suffering is no reason why it should seem any the less degrading. On the contrary, when he feels it more keenly and becomes fully conscious of it, his deliverance will be on the way.

184 The real evils, then, are the fellah's lack of education
212 and culture, and the incomprehension or inaptitude, if not
656 scorn and indifference, of those who might be helping him.

746 The greater number of official measures, for example, are thought out in offices quite remote from the fellaheen, and put into practice by officials who have nothing of the countryman in them. Whether they are concerned with health or education, agriculture or justice, they spring more from theory or from imitation of other countries than from a practical knowledge of the true state of affairs. Their starting-point is not the way of life and thought of the fellah, but a preconceived ideal. They are too interfering, and are imposed on the fellah in a hard, threatening manner. They are planted on him from outside, without ever arousing his interest or enlisting his help, so that he is unable to believe that the Government is genuinely trying to do him a service. And his distress remains the same as ever.

Here lies the explanation of the amazing series of failures which makes the pessimists say "It is no use doing anything for the fellaheen". Experience shows, however,
747 that private organisations of limited scope and resources, because they are working *with* the fellah and not merely *for* him, because they advise instead of commanding, and promise instead of threatening, have been able to gain his confidence, and in spite of unavoidable false starts have achieved excellent results.

One example is the model village of the Royal Agricultural Society, mentioned in the previous chapter. The finishing touch was put to this in December 1941 by the establishment of a 'Social Centre'.

Another case is the happy experiment tried on a large *'ezba* of 1600 feddans in Beheira, where the landowner, a

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Egypt MR1

F 747 to be humane. This is shown by a growing number of articles in the Egyptian Press, as well as by, for instance, a recent film-production entitled *Asifa 'ala-l-Rif* (Storm over the Village), which deals courageously with the problem of the fellah and his masters.

E F 565 747 It is none the less clear that the educated classes have neglected their responsibilities. They have turned away from the masses and devoted themselves to politics, literature, or European travel. They have been self-centred or, as some would say, unpatriotic enough to keep their culture and their wealth strictly to themselves. It is true that every now and again from their ivory tower they have commended enthusiastically the earthy qualities of the fellah, but they have never done much to help him. The occasional meetings of the governing classes with the fellaheen have something theatrical about them, and what is theatrical is obviously not real.

E F 747 184 A member said lately in the Chamber "In this country, when a Prime Minister visits a village, he is accompanied by an escort of some three hundred soldiers, not to mention officers and high officials. Under such conditions he cannot get into touch with the people of the place or find out what they really need" (**). The honourable member went on to suggest that ministers should find out for themselves the true state of the people.

F 183 185 7-8 Thus the fellah, like a neglected child who grows up without thinking or learning anything, has remained rooted to the ground. The earth has stopped him from sinking yet lower ; it has preserved and sustained him, but it could not elevate him. The essential need of the fellaheen is to be awakened and revived to their heritage of humanity.

This is the task of the upper classes, and especially of those who are most concerned with the land : landowners, agricultural engineers, and all who live in the country or visit it in the course of their work, such as merchants, bank-employees, and Government officials. These people should no longer confine themselves to economic administration or political relations with the fellaheen, but should also make an effort to create disinterested human contacts. This is the only way to do any good. It is noticeable how much encouragement the fellaheen derive from the simplest of visits to our village schools by notables or townspeople,

5:Blackman E-5 (1923) 1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

THE ḲARĪN AND ḲARĪNEH.

[With Plate XIV.]

By Winifred S. Blackman.[1]

Just as I was about to publish the material I have gathered on the question of a "double" in Modern Egypt my attention was drawn to Mr. Hornblower's interesting article on the same subject.[2] During the last three years I have been making very careful enquiries on this point in both Middle and Upper Egypt, my research being carried out very largely among the women. My information differs somewhat from that obtained by Mr. Hornblower, though, as his was obtained in Lower Egypt and mine in Middle and Upper Egypt, the difference in the localities may account for the discrepancies. I should add that the information was given to me quite gratuitously; I tried to avoid asking leading questions, but I would touch on the subject in a natural way when conversing with the women. Also, while listening to their talk, remarks on the "double" would drop out in the course of their conversation. I know how easy it is to make mistakes when trying to get at the truth of such matters, and for this reason I have hesitated to publish anything on this belief until this year, and even now, after trying carefully to verify each point through independent witnesses, I am aware that further study may necessitate a partial revision of what I am stating here.

The modern Egyptian *fellāḥīn* believe in a variety of superhuman beings, most of whom live a subterranean existence, though they may often appear above ground. Among these beings are the *'afārīt* (sing. *'afrīt*) or *ginn*, who have an organized society with a king at their head. These beings are sometimes malevolent, sometimes benevolent, and can be controlled by magicians, both male and female. The "double," which is born with every human being, is quite distinct from the *'afrīt*, and it is called, in the case of a man, the *ḳarīn* (colleague; companion), in the case of a woman, *ḳarīneh*. The man is always born with his male, as is the woman with her female, counterpart. I have not as yet heard this "double" called the *ukht* (sister), though an Egyptian friend of mine, when explaining the word *ḳarīneh* to me three years ago, translated it as "fairy sister." The *ginn*, or *'afārīt*, are often called

[1] I desire to thank the Trustees of the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund for the grant made towards my expedition in 1923, while Oxford University Research Student in Anthropology, during which time part of the material on this subject was collected.

[2] "Traces of a Ka-Belief in Modern Egypt and Old Arabia." *Ancient Egypt*, Pt. III, 1923,

5:Blackman E-5 (1923)1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

The beliefs described above differ somewhat from those recounted by Prof. Seligman in "Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt," in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 448-451, and in Mr. G. D. Hornblower's above-quoted article. Both these authorities have obtained their information from men, the former mainly from an educated Egyptian of Luxor, the latter from an aged native of Helwan and from a wise-man of Nezlet Batrân, a village near the Gizeh pyramids. The last-mentioned informant had come in contact with an Italian spiritualist, from whom he had adopted some of his paraphernalia.

Prof. Seligman says that, according to the information he obtained, "everyone has an invisible companion of the opposite sex" who is regarded and spoken of as a "sister" or "brother," and that "the death of one or more children in a family is often attributed to the influence of their mother's 'brother' (companion) and the mother and surviving children may wear iron anklets to avert this danger." He goes on to say that, "A variant of this belief asserts that if the child dies while still an infant in arms it is the *qarîna* of the mother that is responsible, but the *qarîna* of the father causes the death of bigger children" (p. 450).

I have made very careful enquiries into the question of the sex of the mother's "double" from among a variety of people, chiefly women, in Fayûm and Asyût Provinces. So far as my researches have gone, I find that my information on this point differs from that of Prof. Seligman's, for I have been invariably told that a woman has a *ḳarînch* (the feminine form) and a man a *ḳarîn* (masc.). It will be noted that Prof. Seligman speaks of a "*qarîna*" in the case of both men and women. I have not heard the "double" spoken of as either a "brother" or a "sister," such epithets being reserved for the *'afârît* (sing. *'afrît*), who, as I stated above, are often called "our brothers and sisters beneath the earth." It is true that, according to my informants, the *aḥyâa* also live beneath the earth, but they have a separate social organization to the *'afârît*.

I also have found that it is the custom for a mother to wear an iron anklet if she has lost all, or most of, her children; or one of her surviving children may wear the iron anklet, which, it is believed, will protect the next child that is born. I have obtained such anklets from a village in Asyût Province and also from one in Fayûm Province. I have always been definitely informed that the father's *ḳarîn* has no influence whatsoever over his children at any age.

Mr. Hornblower also states that, according to his informants, a "sister" is born with every man, though the word *ḳarînch* (fem. of *ḳarîn*) was not used.

I questioned some of my Egyptian friends in Oxford on this point, and they also declared that according to the belief held by the *fellâḥîn*, a man is born with a *ḳarînch* and a woman with a *ḳarîn*, thus upholding Prof. Seligman's and Mr. Hornblower's statements. But these Egyptian gentlemen all come from Lower Egypt, so that I think the differences between my information and that of the two above-named authorities may be owing either to difference of locality (for my information

5:Blackman E-5 (1923) 1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

was obtained in Middle and Upper Egypt, as, indeed, was Prof. Seligman's), or that it is mere "men's talk," the men possibly preferring to think that their "double" is a female companion, rather than one of their own sex.

In any case, the belief in the existence of this "double," of whichever sex it may be, is widely spread and deeply rooted in the lives of the *felläḥîn*.[1]

FIG. 1.

The above information is certainly suggestive of survivals of the ancient Egyptian ideas about the *Ka*. The modern idea that the *ḳarîn* is born at the same time as its human counterpart calls to mind the sculptured scenes in the temples of Luxor and Deir el-Baḥri depicting the god Khnum modelling the royal child and its *Ka* (Fig. 1), and their simultaneous birth.

[1] Since writing this article, I have been to Egypt again, and I have found that the belief that the *ḳarîn* is of the opposite sex to its human "double" is more or less confined to the educated classes. Further study on this point goes to prove that my assertion that a man has a *ḳarîn* and a woman a *ḳarînah* is correct, at any rate among many of the *felläḥîn*. I have lately come across an interesting variety in this belief, but I hope to investigate it more thoroughly before venturing to publish it.

Zar in Egypt.

Kawthar Abdel-Rasoul

There is a certain ceremony called Zar among the realm of superstitious beliefs in Egypt. This belief is firstly widely disputed among the Egyptians themselves being mainly opposed by men and taking the bulk of its adherents from the masses of women, especially the uneducated ones in the country and the artisans' wives in the towns. We can say that it is certainly not nation wide, but more or less a feminine practice.

Briefly summarizing the whole idea, we can say that it is a belief in some spirits who, due to what we cannot say, secretly enter the body of the victim, establish themselves there and cannot be got rid of. The Zar ceremony is performed on those people with the purpose of soothing the spirits and persuading them not to do any harm to the possessed person.

In this paper we shall try to give a short account of the Zar-ceremony and conclude by comparing it with similar practices in the Sudan and Abyssinia.

The Elements of the Zar.

1. The Patient:

The possessed person is in most cases a woman and only rarely a man. This rule is also applicable in the Sudan and Abyssinia. The patients can be classified as follows:

(a) Women who are physically or mentally ill and have no hope to be cured by doctors or psychiatrists. As a last resource they turn to the Zar. Such a woman believes a priori that she is possessed by a spirit causing her disease and therefore nothing but the Zar can cure her of it.

(b) Women who give birth to a deformed child or whose babies are stillborn. The Zar-ceremony is performed on them in order to stop the spirits from doing any more harm to her babies.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

NATIVE PLOUGH IN EGYPT

BY

MOHAMED RIAD

Since millenia the cultivable soils of Egypt is confined to the Delta and the Valley of the Nile. This soil was deposited by the Nile through immemorial times and as a result it is composed, generally speaking, of nearly homogeneous fine particles which attain a mean depth of about 10 meters. The fact that such thickness and homogeneity of the cultivated soils rendering the minimum of soil variations has contributed much to the form and technique of the prevailing plough in Egypt. In fact the Egyptian plough is a simple one which is used to break the soil and not like other contemporary ploughs in Europe and elsewhere, does not invert the soil. This may be due to the aforementioned reason, i. e., the homogeneity of the soil, as much as other physical factors foremost among them are the yearly deposition of new soils through the agency of the flood on the one hand, and the penetration of air through the soil particles during the inter-planting period on the other hand. These factors and others did not necessitate deep ploughing or soil inversion, and as long as these factors remained in control of the type of cultivation in Egypt —which it did all over the history of agriculture in Egypt, due to the system of Basin Irrigation, —the evolution of the Egyptian plough was and is very slow in what concerns the major lines of form and technique. Yet there exist in Egypt at the present time two substantially different types of ploughs which function in similar physical conditions but exist in different regions. Building a co-existence among these two plough types, mixed offshoots arose to balance the picture and to ease the sharpness of plough boundary in the relatively small cultivable area of Egypt. Now we can differentiate at least seven plough types each with a limited geographic area.

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7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PLOUGH TYPES

*407 ●184 The seven mentioned plough types which prevail in Egypt, reproduced in plates 1 to 4, are as follows :

Type I : the split handle, straight beamed type. This type prevails in both Western and Central Delta with the exception of the south-eastern area of Central Delta.

Type II : the single handle, curved beam plough. This type, one of the two basic ploughs in Egypt, prevails in the Eastern Delta roughly south of 31 degree of North Latitudes. It also exists in the south-eastern parts of the Central Delta.

Type III : the single handle, straight beamed plough. This type, being a mixture of both previous types, prevails spatially in the same region type II occupies.

Type IV : the right-angled double handles, straight beamed plough. This type prevails in the northern Provinces of Upper Egypt and reaches southwards as far as the boundary of Minya and Assiut Provinces. Nearly the same type prevails in the North-eastern Delta, roughly in a pocket to the north of Latitude 31, bordered by Lake Manzala to the East and north-East, and by the Damietta branch of the Nile's Delta to the West and north-West.

Type V : the obtuse-angled double handles, straight beamed plough. This type is the second of the two basic plough forms in Egypt, and prevails in southern Upper Egypt.

Type VI : the single handle, straight and short beamed plough. This [241] type is the usual garden type, and has many varieties, some wheeled while others are not wheeled but possess a fork-like extension of the beam, etc... This is extensively used in the Delta, and rarely found in Upper Egypt.

Type VII : the single handle, straight beamed, and wheeled plough. [241] This type is usually used in light soils, especially nearer to the edge of the desert in Eastern Delta.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

*407 3. Handles and Grip.—The handles are all over Egypt made of wood and attain the height of between 100 and 110 cms. As already mentioned the handle or handles are fixed to the base in different methods which will be explained later. The grip is also a wooden peg either protrouding longitudinally in the case of one handle, or split handle, or a cross beam fixed to the two handles in the double handled types. The handles and the grip serve in the Egyptian ploughs to control the manouvering of the plough and the depth of the ploughing and are handled either by one hand or both hands according to the manner in which the grip is fixed.

4. The Beam.—It is either a straight or curved wooden pole which is attached to the base in different ways, and serves to connect the whole plough with the yoke by inserting a cross peg in a socket holed at the fore end of the beam. The beam attains a length which varies between 300 cms. and 350 cms. and usually has a square cross-section of 10 by 10 cms.

5. The Pin.—This is an iron bar which attains the length of about 50 cms. and a breadth of about 4 cms. This type of pin prevails all over ploughes in Egypt except in type V where we find the pin made of wood. Moreover the iron pin has a set of holes in which a peg is inserted over the beam to prevent it from springing upwards during ploughing, and at the same time controls the angle of the plough.

492 6. The Yoke. This is a wooden pole of about 270 cms. in length, which is put on necks of the animals drawing the plough. To fulfil its purpose the yoke has five pegs: one in the middle to which the rope connecting it to the beam is attached, and two pegs at each end of the yoke to which the two ends of the rope which encircles the neck of the [184] animal are tied. Such a yoke is universal all over Egypt except in type VI [241] where the plough is drawn by one animal, thus requiring a small curved yoke to which the single animal is harnessed.

*407 Such are the basic parts of the Egyptian plough and the previous description will be found useful in both understanding the structure of the plough at large, and illuminating in the following comparison.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PLOUGH PARTS

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[184]

1. The Base. – The above mentioned description of the base is well preserved in all types of ploughes in Egypt. but they differ in what concerns the way in which other parts of the plough are mounted on it. In all the types we find that the base is hollowed about its centre to enable to insert the pin but this hole is different in types IV and V because here we find that the pin –though of wood in type V and of iron in type IV has a wooden supporter attached to it. In type III there is also a kind of supporter which does not function in the same way as in types IV and V, but it has its place next to the pin and thus a special cavity is necessitated near the hollow of the pin. Furthermore the base is bored at about 10 cms. from its butt end to insert the single handle of ploughs belonging to types II, III, VI, and VII. It is also found that the base of type II has another hollow between the hollow of the handle and that of the pin; this is used as a socket to insert the end of the curved beam inside the base. In types I and IV the sides of the base near the butt end are a little bit chiselled to enable to fix the lower ends of the split handle (type I) or the right angled handles (type IV) to the base. but the cavity in both sides is never deep and the lower ends of the handles remain protruding. Again in type V the sides of the base are chiselled deep enough to eliminate the lower ends of the curved handles from sticking out. As the arms of this curved handles are comparatively long. the sides of the base are chiselled all the way through more than a third of the whole length of the base Moreover some 10 cms. from the rear end of this base the sides are again re-chiselled to the end to enable fixing the beam to the base. Thus we may conclude that the horizontal projection of the base will take a more or less regular form of a broad rear end tappering slowly forwards in all types except in type V where we will find it broadest near the middle and while tappering slowly forewards it also narrows rearwards in two definite steps. This special form of the base of plough type V is a necessary technical accomplishment due to the special form of the wide angled curve of the handles on the one hand and the method by which the beam is fixed to the base on the other hand.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

to types IV and V, and the longtudinal grip of both the single handled plough types II, III, VI, and VII, and of the split handled type No. I. From the point of utility a transversal grip should be handled by both hands and thus precondition that the ploughman should go behind the plough. This is indeed the case in type V, but because the handles of type IV are not retreating rearwards it became awkward for the ploughman to handle the plough from behind, and it is usual in this case that he walkes, beside the plough griping it by his right hand. This way of handling the grip is also usual in the cases of the longtudinal grip of all other types. The longtudinal grip differ in form and length in the single handle types than that of the split handle plough. In the last named the grip is a small wooden peg inserted in the upper part of the handle from behind. This peg is so small that it deserves its arabic appellation e'Asfuraa which means a sparrow or a little bird. In fact the ploughman in this type does not use this small grip and instead control the plough by the upper end of the handle. The grip in the case of single handled ploughs is usually a larger wooden peg which is inserted in a socket in the handles and protrudes from both sides of the handle. Thus the grip here serves to handle the whole plough.

4. The Share.—All the Egyptian ploughs use the varieties of shares already described above except the share of plough type No. V. Here the share has no wings or neck but take a regular form with a butt end in the rear and a sharp point on the foreward end.

5. The Beam.—We have already detected two kinds of beams in the Egyptian plough, namely the more commonly dispersed straight beam on the one hand and the curved beam which only appears in plough type II on the other hand.

The straight beam differ from one type plough to the other in many respects. In type VI it is to be noted that the beam is considerably short, and a cross pole is fixed to its extremity to enable either a double rope, double longtudinal wooden extension to be fixed at either ends of this cross bar, or a fork-like extension (see plate IV). This is a necessary technical adjustment for the one animal which is assigned to draw such

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

lower hole. One should again stress the fact that though the pin of type IV is made of iron and may have holes like all iron pins of other types, it does not work as a regulator of the plough angle, but the angle is regulated by the beam extension. We can also conclude that a beam extension is technically necessitated by the principles of structure of plough types II, IV, and V, while it does not figure out in other types unless it is added for the sole purpose of completing the length of a much used beam. 407*

6. The Pin. -The pin is used to serve two purposes: as an additional fastener of the beam to the base on the one hand, and to prevent the beam from springing upwards during the ploughing by inserting a peg through the pin over the beam, on the other hand. These two purposes are, universal in all types of the Egyptian plough. But while such functions are preserved in types II, IV and V, another important function is added to the pin in all other types: this being that of regulating the angle of the plough, just refered to above. To fulfil the two purposes of strengthening the beam-base connection and keeping the beam from springing upwards, the pin could be made of wood as it is the case in type V. But to regulate the angle the pin should be made of a different material other than wood. The pin as described above is comparatively short and not so thick as the beam or the yoke; it actually is essentially a sort of a peg. Now if this wooden pin is holed three or four times in the row which we observe in the usual iron pin used in Egypt, the result would be a certain inherent weakness in the wooden pin; because it will not resist the strength of pulling. This simply is the cause why the function of regulating the angle is assigned to the yoke extension in type V, where the wooden pin is used. In type II, the curve of the beam fixes once and for all the angle of the plough, and the pin of this type could easily be made of wood. But using an iron pin in type II is definitely an evidence of cultural adaptation owing to the fact that the area in which this type prevails uses an iron pin. In the case of type IV the iron pin is useless as to the function of regulating the angle of the plough, and its existance is also an evidence of cultural influences. [184] [184]

To relieve the animals from a part of the burden of carrying the whole weight of the yoke and beam, and to keep the beam from falling downwards,

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

*407 a wooden supporter is put next to the pin. This is naturally not the case in type II where the curve of the beam keeps it standing upwards. In type I this supporter is also lacking.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS AND INTERRELATIONS FROM PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCES

197 ●184 *407 It is obvious from both the list of appellations of different parts of the plough and maps on figures 1 and 2, that certain differences in naming the parts of the plough do exist in Egypt. These differences, apart from their importance to the study of dialects in Egypt, reveal some definite geographic regions the boundaries of which are supported by well known cultural elements and historical facts. If these regions which are detected from the study of plough are not totaly new, there is no doubt that their existence is reinforced by new evidences.

Region One: The Delta. The homogeneity of terminology in the Delta is striking. It is only on maps (c) and (d) of fig. 1 that we find a certain specialization in naming the handle and beam of the plough in Eastern Delta. This area is the domain where plough types II, III, VI and VII prevail. The philological differentiation in this respect is deeply rooted in the technicalities of these plough types; they are all single handled, hence these handles deserve the name of «Romh» spear in contradistinction to «Riesh» feathers which is applied to the split handle of type I. Because the beam of type II is curved, hence the term Ous = a bow or a curve. Though plough types III, VI and VII possess a straight beam, they are nevertheless called Ous. This is a fact which undeniably point that type II is of older age in the area, and furthermore gives an evidence that all these types are but off shoots of this type adjusted to the cultural milieu of Egypt as a whole (where the straight beam prevail): the beam changed but the old name persisted.

It is also observed that some appellations in the Delta do not belong to any arabic origin, but are derivations from the Greek or the Latin languages. Thus Winkler think that «Balanga» (= the pin of the plough)

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

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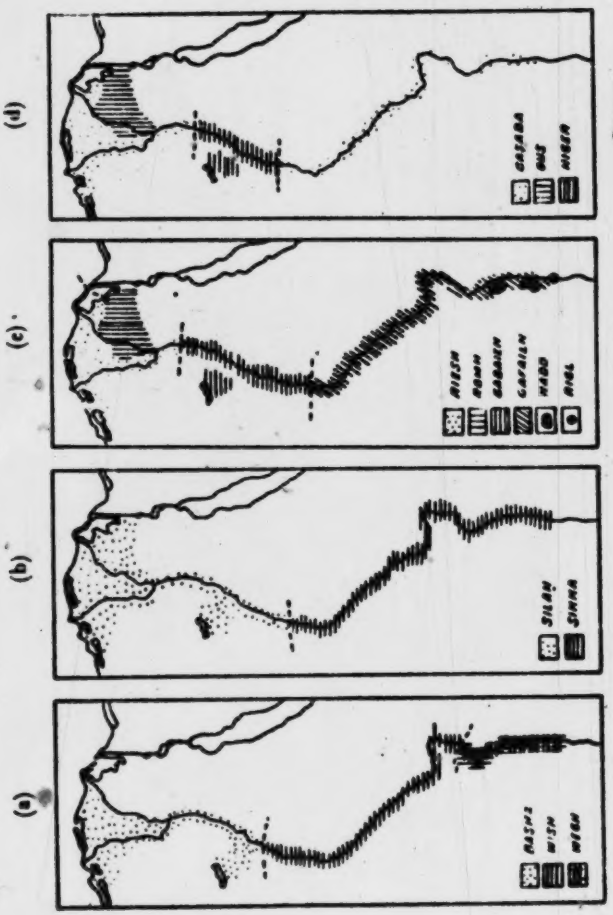

Fig. 1. Appellations of Plough Parts.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

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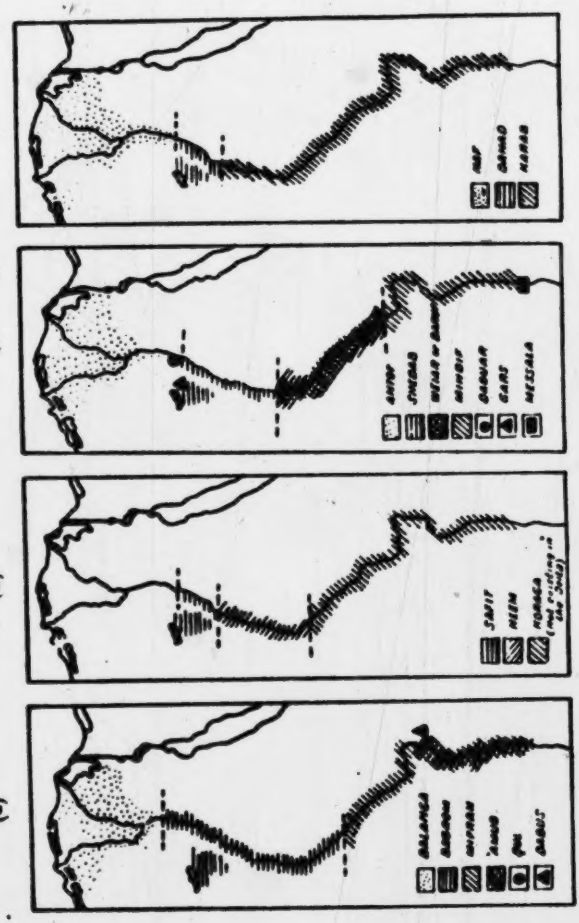

Fig. 2. Appellations of Plough Parts.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

point to the Italian word Bilancia [1]. In this way could we seek the origin of the term « Bazha » (= the base of the plough) to such origins? In addition to these foreign terms there are arabic names, e. g., « Silah » blade or share, « Riesh » = feathers, « Romh » spear, while the words « Antot » and « Naf » may belong to the Coptic or ultimately to the Egyptian languages. In this way we may see that the Delta, though homogeneous, reveal three segmented linguistic and cultural layers: the Egyptian, the Greco-Roman, and the Arabic. This conclusion, supported by historical records, has its reasoning in the geographical situation of the Delta as the northern limits of the Egyptian Nile Valley, as the area facing the Mediterranean, and lastly as the area exposed to Arabia.

If the Delta is established as one region, we can further divide it in two sub-regions. Leaning on the arguments stated above, the Eastern Delta would stand alone as a sub-region, while the other parts of the Delta would constitute the second sub-region. There is no part of the Delta other than its East which received so many human and cultural elements from the Middle-East and Arabia and it happens that that part, in what concerns the plough, is remarkably different in terminology and technique. This area, where type II is at home, did not only account for the several offshoots of plough forms (types III, VI, VII) but also affected the manner in which the ploughman controls his plough. All over the Delta and Middle Egypt the ploughman marches beside his plough where a split handle or a double handle is used. This, as Winkler rightly pointed out [2] is due to the influence of plough Type II, where the ploughman always walk to the left of the plough. In the same source, Winkler claims that this habit of going beside the plough in itself is an evidence of the prior spread of plough II all over the Delta and Middle Egypt [3]. But we must not build a whole theory upon one factor. It is true, as we shall see below, that a curved beamed plough was discovered in Fayum dating to the Roman Period, but this plough was not single

1. Winkler, H. A., 1936, p. 164.
2. Winkler, 1936, pp. 148, 150.
3. Winkler, 1936, pp. 150, 163.

7. Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

*407 •184 handled. What is more is that the double handles of this Roman plough reared backwards in as much an angle as that observed in contemporary plough type V. What seems probable here is that plough type IV is directed by the ploughman in the same way as plough II only because the handles are not retreating backwards—hence it would be difficult posture for the ploughman to lean forward behind the ploughand all the time keeping a good distance between himself and the plough, lest his feet should run in the rear of the base. The proper question would be why the handles of this type took a right angle instead of the obtuse angle of type V? One seems to infer this new adjustment of the handles to influences from type II. This, however, does not need the pre-existance of type II in Middle Egypt, because influences can take many channels other than a prior existance.

197 184 *407 *Region Two :* Upper Egypt. This region extends from Aswan in the south to approximately Minya in the North. This region represent the counterpart of the first one, and here we find a deep homogeneity represented by identity and similarity of techniques. Fine dialectal differences are present, e.g., « Wish» and « Wegh» or « Wijh» — face (for the base of the plough), and « Gabaien» or « Gafaien» (for the handles). Identity is attained in naming the essential parts of the handle : « Wish» for the base, « Sikka» for the share, « Gabaien» for the handles, « Gasaba» for the beam, « Koraga» for the beam extension, and « Karab» for the yoke.

Within this region one can find two sub-regions, namely to the North and South of the Nile bend at Qena. The southern sub-region is full of manifestations apparently very old. This may be due to the fact that this area is the southern most of cultivable Egypt, thus representing conservatism at most. We may add to this the existance of influences [117] from Nubia which adjoins the region from the South. We know that the inhabitants of the Island of Baharif, to the north of Aswan, are all Nubians, hence the existance of the special terms which figure on maps (c) of fig. 1 and map (c) of fig. 2. On map (c) fig. 1 [114] we see two localities in Idfu District, west of the Nile, where Hadd is applied to the handles instead of Gafaien. These two localities -

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

Kelh and Benban were given this terminology by Winkler [1]. As we have made investigations in the area between these localities (several villages were studied: Abu Ennasr, Abu Ibny, and Rikabi, all of which are put under the cumulative name of Ramadi South in our list) we are led to the conclusion that Winkler must have misunderstood his interpreter in one way or the other. Nevertheless we have specialized a different colouring for both localities on the map pending further research. The most characterising elements in the southern sub-region are the common usage of «Wegh» and «Wijh», for the base, «'Amud» instead of «Miftah» for the pin, and «Mindef» instead of «Weinr» or «Barufe» for the cross peg of the beam extension. This area is furthermore characterised by the overall usage of plough type V. The Northern sub-region is not so valid in its uniting characters, and is more exposed to influences from the North.

Region Three: Middle Egypt. This region includes Giza, Beni Suef, Fayum and Minya provinces. Region of weakness may safely be applied to this area: a glance at the maps on figs. 1 and 2 would suffice to convey this quality to the reader. It sometimes represent a satellite of the Delta cultural region, and in other times it is attached to Upper Egypt. Such a state of affairs can be readily seen from maps (a), (b), and (c) of fig. 1. But this situation does not include all the region, and one can easily divide it to three sub-regions: Giza Province in general present an increasing influence from the Delta, Minya Province present the other extremity: the Upper Egyptian region knocks always at the door, and lastly the intermediary area of Fayum and Beni Suef which in reality represent in more than one way symptoms of independence symbolised in the peculiarities of its terminology. Here we have «Higr» for beam, «Bagrom» for pin, «Saflit» for the beam extension, «Shaddab» for the cross peg of the beam extension, and «Danad» for the yoke.

Although type IV prevails in this region at large, the different appellations suggest to a philologist the deeper study of such word origins.

[1] Winkler, 1936, p. 153.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
MR13 Fellahin MR13

197 184 *407 177

either in the Fayum Coptic or with a mixture of Greek origins, for we know that Fayum was once one of the important centers of the Greek Ptolomies.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN PLOUGH

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It is a well established fact that the first recorded form of plough is found on the monuments of Ancient Egypt. Many drawings from the Old and the New Kingdoms of Ancient Egypt can give us a picture relevant to question of the evolution of the plough. There is also a coloured wooden figure of the plough which belong to the 11th or the 12th dynasty kept in the British Museum, and many original ploughs were found near Fayum which belong to the Greek and Roman periods of the history of Egypt, and which are kept in the different Museums of the world, e. g. Cairo and Berlin. All these examples of the plough covering a very long time span can be used as a sound basis for the study of the history of the present Egyptian plough, if we add to it the description of the plough in the 18th century A. D., recorded by Norden[1], and by the scientists of the French Expedition to Egypt[2].

In an unpublished report in the Agricultural Museum of Cairo, a short note is written on the subject of the ancient Egyptian plough. Extracts from the note runs as follows :

> « The ancient Egyptian traditions alledge that the Egyptians are indebted to Osiris, God of Plants in the Egyptian Pantheon, for the knowledge of the plough. Evidences from early drawings proove that the plough in its original form was worked only by man, and it was only drawn by oxen in the drawings of Meidum, i.e., begining from the third Dynasty. In that form the plough had only one wooden share for ploughing the soft soils ; and had a double wooden share covered by a sheet of bronze to plough harder soils.... The plough was called in the Egyptian language SIKKA. »

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[1] See references under Norden.
[2] See references under Girard.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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102
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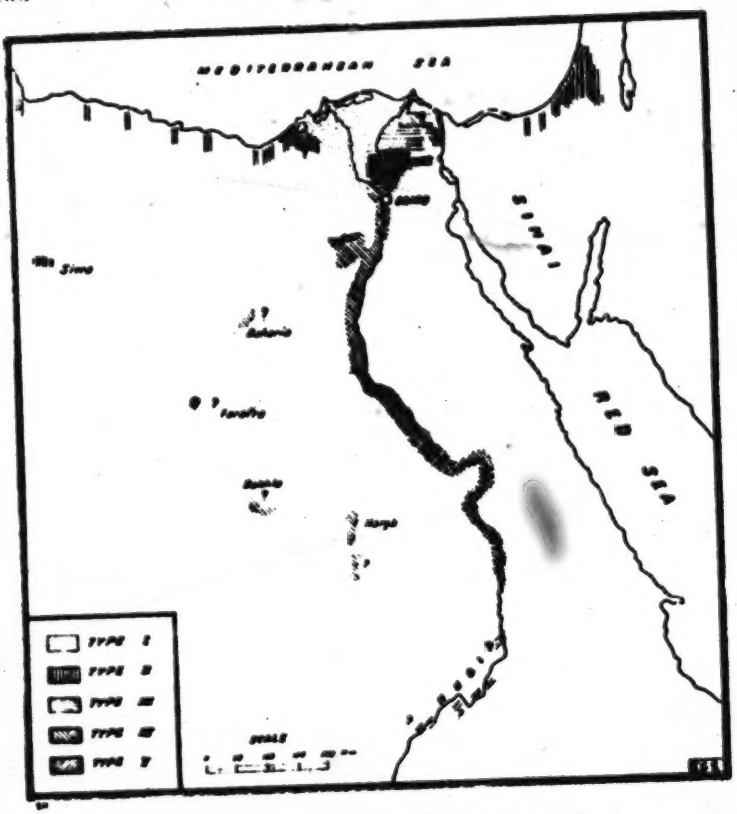

Fig. 3. Regional Distribution of Plough Types in Egypt.

RETROSPECT

171
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The basic plough types just described are not exclusive to Egypt. We have already seen that plough type II has a wide diffusion in North Africa and the Middle East. It may also exist in Tibit, if the drawings reproduced by Ratzel (1) are true. But already in Tibet we see another

(1) Ratzel, Vol. III, p. 384.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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[END PLATE I]

407*
184

(a) — Type I. Split handle. — Straight beamed Plough.

(b) — Type II. Single handle. — Curved beamed Plough.

[END PLATE II]

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184

(a) — Type III. Single handle. — Straight beamed Plough.

(b) — Type IV. Right-angled double handle Plough.

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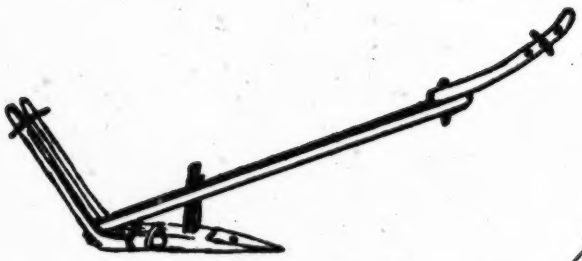
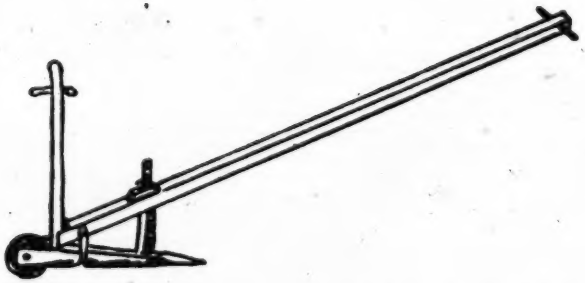
[END PLATE III]

407*
184



(a) — Type V. Obtuse angled double handle Plough.



(b) — Type VII. Single handle. — Straight beamed and wheeled Plough (Bilbies).

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[END PLATE IV]

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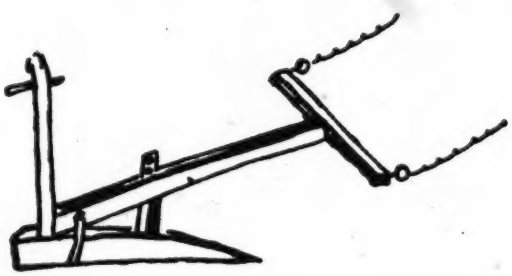
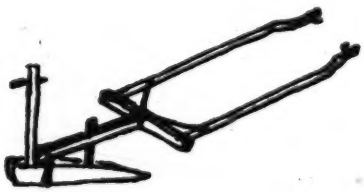


(a) Bilbies.

(b) Kamshush (after Winkler).



(c) After S. M. Behiery.

Type VI. Single handle. — Straight and short beamed Plough (Garden type).

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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Caution.

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Ya munyati, gūdi
u-kīdi-l-ʿazūl,
wirḫi ḍalāl šaʿrik
yeṛaṭṭi-n-nehūd,
widdīni bōse u-gūd!
ʾal-li: ana ḫāif
tiḍmaʿ teʿaddi-l-ḥodūd!

O thou my desire, be generous
And outwit the watcher!
Loosen the veil of thy hair,
That it may cover thy breasts,
And give me a kiss and be generous!
Then she said to me: I fear,
Thou desirest to overstep the bounds!

1. The watcher, who prevents lovers from meeting, plays a large part in oriental love-songs. This is explained by the strict watch which is kept over the women and girls. In the country this vigilance is not as strict toward women who are not especially attractive, as it is in the city. The further one goes from Cairo, the less one sees of veiled women.

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[184]
[291]

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

again repairs to the sacred apartments of those denied to all but himself.

In the feeling of the Moslim the harems are not citadels of jealousy, in which the husband keeps penned up a considerable flock of luxurious indolent beauties. This representation, so current in the land of the Franks, is spurned by the Oriental with indignation. The women's apartments are rather places sacred and inviolable, where the *harîm* (singular *harme; hârem* is meaningless), that is "the prohibited," the women, the *family*, and therefore the husband's dearest treasure must be guarded from profane glances and frivolous influences. As above remarked, they are by no means imprisoned, with the exception perhaps of the women of the highest ranks, they are merely kept and brought up, so that they may shut themselves off by their veils both in the home and outside from all strange men; among themselves they enjoy the freest intercourse. Such a harem existed already among the ancient Greeks under the less hostilely regarded name of *gynaikeion*, and even yet the Greek women are not completely emancipated, and are very strictly looked after. Besides, the native Christian women, at least in Upper Egypt, are even more than those of the Moslim "prohibited." Among the ancient Egyptians, however, they were very free, and went unveiled. In consequence of being thus shut up the oriental women have almost come to form a separate caste, whose laws the men have to respect. This caste has its female sheikhs, for which dignity the midwives and bathing women in particular are selected, has its medical art, its songs and music, its fashions, almost its own language indeed, at least so far as expressions are concerned, and unlimited rule over the little children belonging to it. From the round of its meetings even the master of the house is inexorably excluded. Of course, according to the law, the woman is the servant of the man; she has not the right to sit at a common table with her husband; on the street he shyly avoids his veiled spouse; she is even treated by religion as an object of pollution, contact with which demands a full bath before the believer can again perform his devotions; and when men-

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

796 [169] while those who have lost some one dear to them recall him or her to their thoughts, proceed to the cemetery (especially the women), stick a palm branch into the grave mound, distribute pastry and alms, and even pass the night there with their family.

The other feast follows three months after. It is called the Great Feast or Feast of Offering, and lasts for four days, but is really the smaller feast. The baking, cannon-firing, receiving of visitors, embracing, congratulating, and dressing go on as at the little feast; the festive gaiety is, however, dulled, and is not so universal as after the Ramadan. The chief ceremony [782] on this occasion is the eating of "offering flesh" in memory [262] of the offering of Abraham. Every believer *must* have his piece of meat on this day, and anyone who cannot procure it for himself receives it from his richer neighbours, each of whom offers a sheep for every member of his family. The native Christians abstain from flesh on this day out of [788] opposition. This is the most brilliant period of the pilgrimage in Mecca.

FEAST OF THE SAINTS.

796 796 In the middle of the month Shaaban, which precedes Ramadan, is celebrated the great annual jubilee (a kind of wakes), when every town that can claim to have had a saint of any note, having chosen him as its patron, honours his memory by some kind of festive demonstration—the saint having been a man gifted by God with miraculous power, not necessarily on account of great piety, but oftener as a compensation for harmless and innocent imbecility. The [194] ancient Egyptians also had their patrons and protectors, namely, special divinities or forms and varieties of such for 796 particular cities. In Upper Egypt the chief festival is that of the Sheikh Abder-Rahim at Keneh; it is for Upper Egypt ● [184] what the celebrated fair at Tantah is for Lower Egypt. The latter is evidently a continuation of the ancient Egyptian feast [778] of Diana at Bubastis, or is analogous to it. From the beginning of the month onwards some bustle prevails round the temple

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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Upper Egypt

abode. The corpse-washer goes to work with the utmost care; he washes the body up and down, repeatedly cleaning out all external openings, including the nose and ears, and stops them with cotton; cotton is placed even between the toes and fingers and under the armpits. After the body is dried with equal care it is enveloped in the linen cloth, which has meantime been sewed together, and in such a way that no part of the dead is now visible. It is then laid on a bier without a coffin (it is only the Christians that hastily put a coffin together), and a green or red pall is spread over it. After a benediction has been said over it in the mosque, it is carried to the graveyard.

Hither the dead are borne at a rapid pace, those at least that were Mohammedans. With a haste and hurry that nothing can check the funeral procession rolls along, amid the murmur of *la ilah ill allah*, in order to carry the bier from the city of the living to the city of the dead. The advanced guard is formed by some blind and poor people and petty scribes, perhaps also some boys as a kind of choristers, and some flag-bearers. The bier is borne by four men, friends of the deceased, who are relieved by others of his friends, and thus the rapid march does not meet with the slightest interruption. A long procession of mourners and sympathizers follows, all in their ordinary working-day blouses, the relatives in the oldest and filthiest possible. Several portly well-to-do gentlemen pant behind, or have got themselves mounted upon trotting asses. By the side or at the end of the procession follows the wailing chorus of women, who on this day show remarkably little of their usual strictness in veiling themselves.

Having reached its destination, the corpse, wrapped only in its white shroud, is taken from the bier and let down without a coffin into a perpendicular excavation. During this proceeding, if the corpse is that of a female her former street mantle is held spread out over her in order to keep off longing glances—under such circumstances little to be expected. It is not the perpendicular excavation, however, that receives the dead body, which, being protected by no